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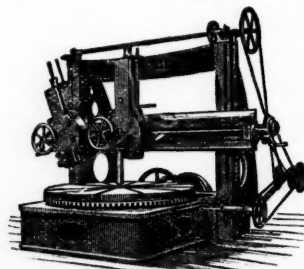
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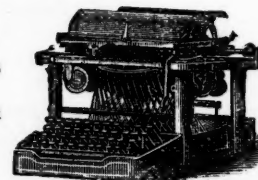
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REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

THE National Civil Service Reform Association has issued a report of a special committee in which it sums up its impressions of this administration in the matter of its dealings with patronage. The address has a double bearing. Toward the public it turns the pleasanter face. It speaks in the usual way of the "great progress" made since Mr. Cleveland came into office. The public will be apt to think of the phrase as having much the same force as when committees "report progress," *i. e.*, admit that they have not done anything since the last meeting. And this general impression will be strengthened by the complaints the address contains of the conduct of Mr. Cleveland's subordinates in this very matter. The changes made in the Indiana offices, to which Senator Harrison forced attention, are enumerated and characterized in some measure as they deserve. But it will not do to "plead the baby act" in behalf of Mr. Cleveland by condemning his subordinates while exculpating himself from blame. Col. Vilas is only what Mr. Cleveland has made him, and can do only those things which the President puts in his power to do. If Mr. Cleveland cared for the reform as Mr. Curtis or as Mr. Schurz cares for it, either his remonstrances would have brought these Cabinet officers to their senses, or they would have been asked for their resignations. That the representatives of the Civil Service Reform Association are utterly prejudiced and incompetent judges of personal responsibility in this matter is shown by their complimentary references to Mr. Bayard's conduct of the State Department as in harmony with the principles of the reform. There simply is no member of the Cabinet who has proceeded with a more serious indifference to it. We do not speak of the few clerkships in Washington which are in Mr. Bayard's gift, but of the important places in our diplomatic and consular service which have been bestowed upon his political and personal friends with as little reference to fitness as Mr. Vilas has shown in the Post Office and Mr. Lamar in the Indian Bureau.

Through the report runs a note of warning, which is the real purpose of the committee. It says: "You see how anxious we are to praise the Administration we worked so hard to create, and the President we worked so hard, inside and outside our association, to elect. But you also see how little we are able to say in praise, and how much we must blame, if we are to preserve our repute for a decent measure of veracity. Unless there be a change for the better we shall not be able to do much for Mr. Cleveland in 1888 as an effective friend of this reform, if he should get the renomination he is working for." But charm they never so wisely, the unterrified Democracy will play the deaf adder to their incantations.

THE official statement of the amounts appropriated by last Congress at its two sessions shows a diminution from \$263,914,613.25 in 1886-87 to \$248,568,630.84 in 1887-88. This cannot be traced, however, to any growth in the love of economy at the second session. The difference is due to the failure of two important appropriation bills to become laws. The thirteen appropriation bills which were enacted at both sessions rose in their aggregate from \$235,573,993.63 in 1886-87 to \$248,568,630.84 in the present fiscal year. The two bills which did not become a law—the Deficiencies and the River and Harbor bills—would just have equalized the aggregate, as they were about half as great this year as last. This shows that the appropriations do not err so much in excess as in the opposite direction. The sums voted are much less than carefully prepared estimates from the executive departments called for, to say nothing of the neglect to do anything for the fortification of our coasts, or anything for the extinction of illiteracy, or anything that is adequate for the enlargement of our navy. We hear of a United States Court in Pittsburg which has closed its

sessions because there are no funds to pay its expenses or to compensate witnesses!

THE South worked hard for the Inter-State Commerce bill, but it is the first section of the country to rue its work. It finds that the bill reenacts a part of the Civil Rights laws in a shape which the Supreme Court hardly will find to be unconstitutional. It forbids all discrimination between individuals by the railroads. As this applies to passengers as well as freight traffic, no railroad will be free to drive to its smoking-cars colored women who have paid for a first-class passage. In effect it will break down all forms of discrimination on account of color, and compel the roads to discharge the duties of the common carrier as these are understood by all other communities which have inherited the traditions of English law.

As the Commissioners appointed to execute the law have decided, very unwisely, to exclude the representatives of the press from even their ordinary sessions, it is not possible to say with certainty what has been done or proposed at their meetings, thus far. It is reported that one of the first matters which came before them was a request from some Southern railroads to be exempted temporarily from the operation of the law. This request is strongly supported by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, which sends a deputation to Washington to urge this favor. The business community in the South-Atlantic States have wakened up to the fact that railroad charges are much too delicate and complex a matter to be reconstructed according to Mr. Reagan's ideas. They see that the market now enjoyed by the new industries of the South depends very largely upon the low rates charged by the roads, and that the rigid enforcement of the rule against as high charges for shorter hauls as longer, must lead to a rise in through freights. The representatives of these States would have done much better for their constituencies if they had supported Mr. Cullom's bill for the creation of a Commission with entirely discretionary power. They helped to force the fusion of that bill with Mr. Reagan's more drastic measure; but their constituents ask the Commission to act as though they had been created to carry out Senator Cullom's bill, and not that which was actually passed. But we think the Commission has enough good sense to know that it cannot take this action in behalf of any one section of the country, as this would place every other at a disadvantage. It is impossible, for instance, to give the Alabama iron men more favorable terms of access to the Pittsburg market than are given to those of Michigan, without doing the latter a very grave injustice.

THERE is a sensible bill before the Wisconsin Legislature which requires the railroads to issue free passes to members of that body, to elective officers of the State, and to all members of courts of record. This is the only way to put an end to the mischief done by the issue of railroad passes to secure political influence. Under this law the railroads have nothing to give which any decent member of the Legislature or the State government will accept. They may offer bribes; but they will no longer have it in their power to entrap men into incurring an obligation they did not comprehend. Even if it be necessary for the State to pay in the lump for the service of carrying all these officials, it would be far better for it to do so than to leave them open to the present temptation to make a private arrangement with the railroads.

Of course such a bill as this will be greeted with derision by thoughtless people who do not see that it aims at abolishing an abuse—not at perpetuating one. It will be said: "The Legislatures are very eager for free passes since they propose to enact a law for that purpose." But as a matter of fact they now get all they

want, and all but the very scrupulous accept such passes. The railroads know that no other investment pays so well as this, and they find ways to evade all laws to the contrary. The bill would only make the difference of giving passes to the scrupulous members and officials, and of making all of them free from any personal obligation. It may be said that the railroads should not be subjected to such a tax. But in truth it is very little that the State gets in return for the exercise of its exceptional powers in behalf of the railroads. We should have such a law in Pennsylvania.

As we feared, the dissensions among the Republicans of Rhode Island have resulted in giving the Governorship to the Democratic candidate, although the Legislature remains Republican by a diminished majority. This is of political importance only in case either of the United States Senators should die when the Legislature is not in session, and while Congress is, as the Governor would then have the right to appoint a Senator until an election could be had.

We hope that the lesson of this defeat will not be lost on the Republicans of that State. In small commonwealths it does not require a very large secession to defeat a party. The party in this case courted defeat, not so much by its formal actions, as by the high-handed style in which it undertook to ride over the dissenting minority, and by the bad tone of its State convention. But the minority has not taken any position that is inconsistent with permanent loyalty to the party. Unlike the Mugwump secession in Massachusetts and New York, it is made up of men who are loyal to the principles of the party, and not of men who use an unpopular nomination to cover their desertion of a party with whose policy they have no sympathy.

Of the significance of the city elections in the West we have spoken elsewhere. Both Cincinnati and Chicago have passed under Republican rule through the moral and political break-down of the other party. In Michigan the State has gone Republican by a handsome plurality. The chief interest of the election, however, centred in the vote on a prohibitory amendment to the State Constitution. This was submitted to the people by the Republicans in the Legislature at the risk of alienating the large German element in their own party. Michigan had a prohibitory law in former times, but it was then confessedly a failure. On this account many of the people, especially in the cities, were unwilling to repeat the experiment, and favored High License as a better expedient. The farming population generally voted for the amendment. But the cities, with the help of the miners and lumberers of the upper peninsula, appear to have voted it down, though by a comparatively small majority. The friends of the amendment, however, now charge that frauds have been committed against them, and the value of this charge remains to be seen.

THE Supreme Court of the United States has pronounced an important decision in one of several suits brought by the national banks of New York city against the city government. The law creating these banks forbids the taxation of their shares by State authority "at a greater rate than is assessed upon other moneyed capital in the hands of individual citizens of said States." The banks claimed that under this enactment they were entitled to as favorable treatment as the State extended to trust companies and even savings' banks. The court holds that the State is bound to deal with them as it does with corporations of exactly the same class acting under State laws, and it defines this class by a formal definition of the different branches of business done by a modern bank. This case involves some million and a half of taxes a year in that city, and a much greater sum throughout the country. It seems to be based on the soundest principles of equity, as it gives the banks as favorable terms as are given to the capital which is in competition with them for their proper business. Indeed, it is not the national banks which are oppressed by the taxation system. In our own city they pay less in taxation proportionally than do private bankers.

THE Crosby High License bill for the cities of New York and Brooklyn has passed the New York senate, all but two of the Republican senators voting for it, and the Democrats voting against it with equal unanimity. This sends it to Governor Hill for his signature or his veto, and the latter would be fatal, as the Republicans are not strong enough to carry it over the veto. All the indications lead us to expect that he will veto it. He has already vetoed a bill to restrain the sale of liquor in one of the public institutions of the State. And he has just sent the Legislature a special message complaining of the number of special legislation bills passed at this and the last session. This is thought to prepare the way for a veto on the ground that this is special legislation with regard to the chief cities of the State, and not for the whole State. And this indeed is the blot on the bill. It is inferior to the High License for Pennsylvania in that the latter covers the whole State and not the cities only. Would it be too late for the Legislature to convert it into a general license law after getting it back from the governor?

In view of Mr. Hill's previous record, there is no reason to hope that he will rise above partisan considerations in dealing with this question. And in the main the party influence will draw him in the wrong direction. From the beginning of this contest the Democratic leaders seem to have made up their minds that they had more to lose by alienating the support of the liquor interest than by approving this just and necessary measure for its regulation. But there are very great risks on that side. The growth of a genuine temperance sentiment among the Irish Catholic voters of the better sort has been a notable fact in politics, and it may serve to alienate these voters, if it be shown them that only the Republicans are in earnest about legislation to diminish the evils of the liquor traffic. It is noteworthy that only the *Star* among the Democratic newspapers of New York opposes the bill; and the *Star* is the Cleveland organ, and therefore unfriendly to Governor Hill, who is known to have presidential aspirations.

Whatever Governor Hill may do with the bill, the Republicans will have accomplished one of its objects. They will have put their party on the record as friendly to vigorous legislation for the restraint of the saloon influence. This can hardly fail to weaken the influence of the third party in national and state politics.

THE Supreme Court of Connecticut has pronounced a decision against "Glidden and others" charged with boycotting or threatening to boycott a newspaper in that State. The court says of the word "boycott":

"That word is not easily defined. It is frequently spoken of as passive only, a let-alone policy, a withdrawal of all business relations, intercourse and fellowship. If that is its only meaning it will be difficult to find anything in it criminal. We may gather some idea of its real meaning, however, by a reference to the circumstances in which the word originated. . . . The thing we call a boycott originally signified violence if not murder. If the defendants in their handbills and circulars used the word in its original sense, in its application to the Carrington Publishing Company, there can be no doubt of their criminal intent. We prefer, however, to believe they used it in a modified sense. As an importation from a foreign country, we may presume that they intended it in a milder sense."

It is a pity that these learned judges did not take the pains to ascertain the origin of the word, before they thus undertook to fix its sense by a bit of false history. Neither murder nor violence was used against Captain Boycott, the agent of the estate in the West of Ireland against whom this method was put in force in 1880. Nor has either murder or violence attended the exercise of the process in any other case in Ireland. The most famous instance was the boycott of the Cork steamship company, in which the mere passive resistance of the Munster farmers compelled the company to come to terms. The "original sense" of the word implies nothing of the sort that these judges affix to it. It means simply a withdrawal of business relations, intercourse, and fellowship. And as there is no evidence that these New Haven boycotters used the term in any but its original and innocent sense,

the decision of the Court against them for employing it stands self-condemned by the passage we have quoted. A boycott which resorts neither to violence nor to inflammatory forms of advertising is not an invasion of personal rights, but an assertion of those rights in one of their most elementary forms.

THE New Jersey Legislature has failed to pass the new marriage law, which would have assimilated the legislation of that State to that of Pennsylvania. It is said that the Baptist and Presbyterian ministers of New Jersey gave their support to the proposed law, but that the Methodists lobbied against it with vigor and success. Under the present arrangement the Methodist preachers of Camden are reaping quite a harvest from residents of Philadelphia, who do not choose to comply with the requirements of the Pennsylvania law in the matter of taking out a license. In advertising the weddings at which they officiate they are careful to give their exact address, so that other candidates for matrimony may have no trouble in finding them. And some of them are said to have given up their usual summer vacation in order to be on hand for all comers.

This is nothing less than a serious abuse. When the State deposes to ministers of the gospel the power to officiate at marriages, it does not contemplate the prospect of their acting as matrimony-mongers. It assumes that they will act with discretion, and with some knowledge of the persons they thus unite. The great multiplicity of divorces in this country grows out of the excessive facility with which people get married upon very short and slight acquaintance. It is the right as it is the duty of the ministers of religion to check this abuse by their refusal to join in marriage those who in all probability will want to be disjoined before many years or even months are over. But when ministers set up marriage-shops like these in Camden, they are abandoning all possibility of that wise and restraining influence which the State has the right to expect of them. They are simply preparing jobs for the divorce courts by wholesale.

THERE is a discussion in progress as to the reunion of Northern and Southern Presbyterians; and the color-line difficulty is found to be very much in the way. The Northern Church applies the principle of equality to its treatment of the freedmen, and it has considerable membership of this class in the Southern States. In the Southern Church the negro is not excluded, but he is expected to keep by himself as much as possible. If he is admitted into a presbytery as a minister, it seems to be understood that he is not to be so presumptuous as to vote on any important question; and in one case a decision of a presbytery was challenged because the black members had given the casting vote. In the organization of the churches the two races are sundered to an extent unknown before the war. The black man was far more tolerable as a slave than he is as a freeman. And it is intimated that no reunion is to be thought of unless the whole Church accept the Southern principle in this matter. We think it would be a fatal mistake to do so. If there is one thing the freedman needs more than another, it is close and friendly association with the white man. In that lies the hope of his civilization and Christianization. Deprive him of that, and he will sink back to something like the Hayti level. It may be more pleasant for the white race to bid him shift for himself and to keep by himself; but it certainly is less Christian, and will be of less help in solving the problems his presence among us furnishes for American civilization.

It is to be regretted that the colored people in the South is, in church matters, so much sundered from association with white men. The largest body of them are the Baptists; and the absolute independency of the Baptist churches goes far to prevent their getting the help in supervision which the white churches ought to bestow. The next largest body are the Methodists, who may be classified as of several sorts. Some are in the Southern Methodist Church; and if Dr. A. G. Haygood is a specimen of the

leaders of that Church, we are sure they are getting good there. Others are in the Northern Methodist churches, which have been organized in the South since the War. Of these, also, good may be expected. Others are in the two independent African Methodist churches, and are sundered from all white influences. From what we have seen of the ministers and leaders of these bodies, we do not rate their influence for good very high. It would have been better for the colored race if no such separate African churches had come into existence. The Presbyterians take the third place as regards the hold on the freedmen which their Church has. It would be a great mistake to sacrifice the influence for good which their vigorous system of church government might exert over the freedmen of their faith in a thoroughly united Church, to Southern prejudices against the black race.

MAYOR FITLER was inaugurated on Monday with little display, and announced in simple and suitable terms his purpose to labor for the good government of the city. The new administration begins as a business administration of city affairs ought, and with the good will of all classes.

To give it a fair chance, the Legislature has suspended for sixty days the provision in the Bullitt bill which establishes the new rules as to removals and appointments in the civil service of the city. It was felt that if Mr. Fitler were obliged to take over all Mr. Smith's appointees, it would not be possible for him to give the city a good and responsible administration. This is rather a dangerous precedent, as it will be pleaded when the exceptional circumstances which are thought to justify it have been forgotten.

Already there are predictions as to Mr. Fitler's successor in office. It is said that the new head of the department of public works will enjoy exceptional facilities for making himself the candidate of the party, and that he will use these with energy. But we think these calculations ignore the revolutionary influence of our new form of city government upon our political methods. With fewer elections devolved upon the citizens, and with a greatly increased importance attached to this executive office, the nomination to it will be much less in the hands of the political workers than it has been. That head of a department who commends himself to the public by the ability and the faithfulness he has shown in the discharge of his duties, will have the best chance to succeed his chief. We do not say that this will not be General Wagner, but that if it is, it will not be his control of patronage and the like which will put him in the way of becoming mayor.

THE death of Judge Peirce adds a third to the number of seats on the city bench to be filled at the next election. We assume as certain that Judges Fell and Reed will be elected to remain on the bench, as their administration of their high office has been eminently satisfactory. But this makes an open place for rising merit.

Judge Peirce was not a brilliant lawyer nor a brilliant man. But he was honest, good-hearted, and universally liked. And in one notable case he did better than his more brilliant colleagues. It was he that threw open the practice of law to the women of this city. In this respect, as in others he was a liberal and not a narrow-minded man; in the old days "before the war," he was one of those who could always be depended upon to defend a black man from slavery.

THE legislatures of Texas, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania follow Illinois and Nebraska in declaring their sympathy with the Irish people and their leaders in the present struggle for personal liberty against Coercion. In our great cities meetings have been held for the same purpose, New York and Philadelphia having set the example. The meeting in our own city was large and enthusiastic, but its managers showed a want of judgment in having it addressed only by politicians of both parties. This robbed it of half its worth, by giving our English cousins and their newspapers a chance to say that it was merely a

bid for Irish votes. Our city contains other classes who are interested in Ireland besides office-holders, ex-office-holders, and editors of political newspapers. It has, for instance, eloquent ministers of the Gospel, men of science, and others, who are at least as well known in Europe as any man who was on the platform of the Academy, and who in most cases are in hearty sympathy with the Irish cause. Dr. McCook, for instance, is one of the first of living authorities in one branch of natural science, as well as a popular preacher and writer of theological books, and he is a hearty friend of Home Rule for Ireland, and did not wait for Mr. Gladstone's conversion to bring him to that conclusion. His name would have been recognized in England and in Ulster as that of a man entitled to be heard.

Of course no such precaution would have prevented misrepresentation. Even the New York meeting, which was better though not quite wisely managed, is spoken of in London as a gathering of a crowd of foreigners mainly, whom the truly American element of the city would not object to see thrown into the harbor! In view of the character of the men who allowed the use of their names at that meeting the statement is a funny one. Noah Davis and Rev. Dr. Lloyd were among the speakers, and letters of sympathy were read from three United States Senators, three college presidents (including Dr. McCosh), Dr. Howard Crosby, and Mr. E. L. Godkin. A letter from Dr. John Hall showed that he had not got so far as to believe in Home Rule. He therefore will not be thrown in the harbor.

THE New York *Tribune* continues to check the growth of Republicanism among Irish voters, so far as its abilities can go, by making its first page the vehicle for the most offensive comments upon the Irish struggle which are to be found in any American newspaper. It is true that it tries to make up for this by editorial comments of a very different sort; but these are quite inadequate to offset the London letters of the ablest, if also the most rancorously prejudiced, writer on its staff. When election time draws near we shall see Mr. Reid rushing around in search of some eminent Home Ruler, like Mr. McCarthy, to furnish the antidote to the poison he has been publishing for the previous four years. We know that it will be alleged in defence of its course, that it goes upon the principle of giving the news and both sides of it. But Mr. Smalley's letters in their most offensive parts are not news but comments and moralizing upon news in a style which represents not any great English party even, but only that narrow West End society to whose horizon this really able writer has decided to confine his outlook.

One of his latest exploits is to denounce the Liberal leaders for sanctioning a "Higher Law" doctrine in the case of the priests who have gone to jail rather than answer the questions of the bankrupt court as to what they did with the money intrusted them. "Private conceptions of justice," he writes, "are henceforth to be set up against the judgments of the majority as declared by statute." And he complains of Mr. Morely as showing a "tendency to deny the sanctity of law as law." The *Tribune* still retains the name of Horace Greeley as its founder on its fourth page. What was Mr. Greeley's chief service to his country and to humanity but his assertion of a Higher Law than that which condemned the slave to perpetual bondage, and a refusal to acknowledge the "sanctity" of any law which was not founded on essential justice? Did the Hebrew prophet uphold "the sanctity of law as law" when he spoke of "the throne of iniquity, which frameth mischief by a law?" But Mr. Smalley and the West End have got beyond the prophets. They have adopted the new morality, which bases moral obligation upon "the judgment of the majority." This is the outcome of the attempt to derive social ethics from tribal tradition and authority as interpreted by Mr. Herbert Spencer, the idea of an essential righteousness and "intelligence at the heart of things" being abandoned as "an anthropomorphism." But once more it is found that

God and the authority of His supreme law of righteousness is the last refuge of the oppressed,—of the Irishmen as of the slave!

The very utmost that the law can exact from any man in such a case is just what these priests have done. They have taken the penalty of their disobedience of the lower law in obeying the higher, and have neither resisted nor murmured. They have gone to prison with the blessing of the highest dignitaries of their Church, amid the tearful thanks of their countrymen, and with a good conscience. No law has the right to exact of any man what is against his sense of duty; and these men have done what the human conscience everywhere must recognize as right, in their refusal to do what was asked of them.

THE new Closure law has had the unhappy effect of putting the Speaker of the House of Commons into an attitude of seeming partisanship, such as his predecessors never occupied. Closure can be voted only with his assent, and generally at his suggestion. In an excited debate, such as this over the Coercion law, it is impossible that he should escape the imputation of hostility to the minority in his exercise of this great discretion, unless he is known to be in sympathy with it. But Mr. Peel is a Whig Unionist, and personally offensive to several of the Liberals who act with Mr. Gladstone. It therefore is not a matter for wonder that he should be regarded with anything but kindly feeling by the opposition at this crisis, even though he may have acted with as much discretion and impartiality as was possible. The fault is not in him, but in the law, which will have to be changed unless the English Speaker is to be as frankly the servant of his party as is the Speaker of the American House of Representatives.

LORD SALISBURY, unlike Lord Beaconsfield, has no liking for big and vague ideas. He avows himself very frankly as opposed to that scheme of Imperial Federation which only the defeat of 1880 prevented Disraeli from trying to carry into effect. He does not want the risk of defending the British Empire as a unit, such as this plan would involve. He sees that the safety of the colonies must depend upon their liberty to cut loose from the Mother Country and set up for themselves, whenever a great general war makes this desirable. In case of a war between Great Britain and America, or indeed any other country of the first rank, Canada would have to declare her independence at once, as the only safeguard of her interests. These are ideas which once were thought the monopoly of Liberal statesmen, and they were charged with great lack of patriotic feeling for entertaining them. It is notable to find a Tory Premier more outspoken than any Liberal has dared to be.

THE WESTERN CITY ELECTIONS.

THE important feature in the elections in Chicago and Cincinnati this week has been the apparent and partially real conflict of Anarchist ideas and purposes imported from Continental Europe with law and order ideas of the American school. In the former city, however, this contest was much more distinct than in the other. Chicago has long been threatened by her revolutionary elements, and more than once, as in the Haymarket tragedy, they have seemed on the verge of engulfing her. Their real strength it was difficult to estimate. They had been so mischievously advertised by the daily newspapers, had been so continually placed on exhibition as sensations if not attractions of a "great city," that they had appeared to have a possible strength exceeding that of the supporters of social order; and when it was considered, in addition, that the very officials who were required to maintain the law were headed by such unprincipled men as Carter Harrison, the issue of the encounter might easily seem uncertain.

It is, however, distinctly shown, even in Chicago, that the Anarchist pit yawns in vain for an American community when it is made to see whither its steps tend. The candidate there who had the support of the Anarchists has been overwhelmed by a vote in which many Democrats sank their ordinary party attach-

ments in order to make his defeat more distinct and more crushing. It was to be regretted, in fact, that he represented some genuine labor elements, which did not deserve to be struck so hard; but this was a misfortune which we think the working people will see that their political operations do not hereafter incur. They will cut loose the wretches of the Haymarket sort, and the distinction between Labor and Anarchy will be drawn broad and deep enough to leave no danger of confusing the two.

In Cincinnati there was much less of revolutionary purpose in the defeated movement. In fact, it held out some encouragement to voters that it might prove a better agency for the public good than either of the old party "machines," the Democratic one especially being notoriously unclean and dishonest. But the present Mayor, a Republican, was elected for the same reason that gave Mr. Roche so great a majority in Chicago,—the determination not to take as officials those who were tarred by the Anarchist stick. If the Labor party had been clean of this mark, very probably it would have carried the city, in the exceptional circumstances of the case, and it will doubtless take care, hereafter, that the differentiation of its objects from those of social revolution shall be made complete.

THE FORTUNES OF COERCION.

THE attention of the English-speaking race fastens itself more and more on the bill for the permanent suppression of personal liberty in Ireland. The Tories and the Unionist Liberals are masters of the situation in Parliament, so far as the brute force of numbers goes. But in every other respect they are losing ground. They raised their majority on the first reading of the bill to over a hundred, from the 89 they had against Mr. Parnell's amendment to prevent its consideration unless remedial land legislation were introduced at the same time. But even that amendment had terrified them. They brought forward in the House of Lords an Irish Land law, to facilitate the transfer of Irish lands to their actual cultivators by purchase, and with help from the Government. But they have done nothing, and they will do nothing, to compel their friends and clients the landlords to make reductions in any case from the judicial rents fixed by the land courts.

Numbers are with the Tories; but every more spiritual form of social force is with the Liberals. The English constituencies voted for Tory members because they were told that a firm hand and the regular execution of the law were all that was needed "to govern Ireland as an English county is governed." It was this phrase which was used most freely in catching the votes of the hesitating. But they are beginning to see with amazement that the kind of government the Tories propose to establish permanently in a great part of Ireland is what no English county dare be subjected to for a month in time of peace. They see the Tories are proposing measures which amount to a confession that their published programme is quite incapable of execution. And they feel about the Tory promises very much as most people have come to feel about Mr. Cleveland's professions in the matter of Civil Service Reform.

When Mr. Gladstone rose and walked alone into the Opposition gallery of the House of Commons the other day, through cheering ranks of Home Rulers and Liberals, the reason and the conscience of England went with him. Never did the grand old man look grander than in this confession that his earlier attempts to solve the Irish difficulty had been failures, in spite of their honesty and their cleverness; that Mr. Parnell had been right and he wrong; and that nothing remained but to transfer to the Irish people the control of their affairs, which he and other British statesmen have been mismanaging for the best part of a century. Mr. Gladstone resembles his master, Sir Robert Peel, in heroic readiness to confess his mistakes and amend upon them, and to risk his political future upon an act of justice, whose justice dawned upon him only after an era of resistance on his part. The greatness of England lies in her capacity to produce such men. Her littleness and her

danger lie in the narrow, pig-headed traditionalism, which makes an average Englishman, and especially an English Tory, stick to any abuse which had a pleasant and a profitable side to it, and to resist any act of justice which seems to run counter to "British interests." These are the nobler and the baser self of England. Which of them is to get the upper hand this time?

We think that all the signs of the times indicate the near approach of the victory of the better self as regards this Irish problem. The Tories have been hastening the education by their confession that Home Rule is already virtually established in Ireland, that the League and not the Castle directs the affairs of the country, and that the latter can make itself felt only through the overthrow of personal liberty of speech and action. And it is most fortunate that at this juncture Ireland has an adviser in Mr. Parnell, who is able to restrain the people from any excesses, which might have delayed the education of the English people in Home Rule principles. Nothing in the debates of the session has been more notable than the contrast between Mr. Parnell and his lieutenant-in-chief. Mr. Dillon talked of resisting Coercion on the field of battle. Mr. Parnell warned the Irish people that the worst enemy of their cause was the Irishmen who condescended to the violence of despair on the eve of victory.

Especially useful for English voters was Mr. Parnell's exposure of the evidence of Irish disorder on which Mr. Balfour based his demand for coercive powers. As Mr. Gladstone said, the heart was torn out of the Government's case as never before. Mr. Balfour is a Scotchman, and he should have remembered that the average of crimes of violence, and the number of persons under arrest and awaiting trial, is far greater in his own country than in that he has undertaken to govern. But he dare not propose coercion "to restore order" in Scotland. Nor in his speech did he make any allusion to loyal Belfast where the docket is more heavily burdened than in any other part of Ireland. At the Antrim assizes two murders, one homicide, three woundings and sixteen cases of riot are to be tried. Even Kerry cannot compete with this. The truth is it is not disorder but a rival government in Ireland, and that the only legitimate government, on American principles, which the Tories are trying to suppress. For "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and to Castle rule the Irish have given consent not for one hour since the crime of 1800-1 was consummated.

THE EMANCIPATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.¹

OF late years the Puritan founders of New England have been getting rather hard measure at the hands of their descendants. Mr. Upham's "Salem Witchcraft" may be taken as the first of a series of books in which authors who belong to that Commonwealth have busied themselves with tearing the halo from the brows of its first governors in Church and State; and Drs. Abbot, Dexter, and Ellis have had a busy time in constructing defences for the assailed. In truth the history of Massachusetts is yet to be written. The Commonwealth has not produced, as yet, a man who is capable of treating its past in a spirit of entire fairness; or, if she have, she has hidden him from the sight of the rest of mankind. Apology and attack may both be useful as a preliminary to history; neither of them constitutes it. They sift the sand for the mortar; they do not build the edifice. And apology or attack has been the staple of such writing about the early Puritans of New England as possesses either literary form or living spirit. One such book as Mr. Peter Bayne's "Principal Actors of the Puritan Period" in England would be worth them all, although Mr. Bayne is not the equal of some of these writers as a man of letters.

We cannot regard Prof. Brooks Adams as the coming historian of the Puritan Commonwealth. He is a lawyer by profession, and he does not seem to have learnt the difference between drawing an indictment and writing a history. He shows no capacity for putting himself into the place of the men he writes of,—of seeing life through their eyes. He has no sympathy for their religious views, or apparently for any religious views which are clear and definite. In the last analysis he traces the cruelties of the rulers of Massachusetts to their having and believing a definite creed. He seems to forget that the Baptist creed was just as definite as that of the Puritans, and yet that the Baptists everywhere fought the battle of religious liberty, and kept themselves unstained from

every kind of intolerance, even where they had the power to do otherwise. And in the only place where he finds it necessary to refer to the cruelties perpetrated by Laud and the Arminian-Erastian party—wofully mis-called the High Church party—he minimizes the matter as though nobody but Calvinists could be as bad as Winthrop and the Mathers.

If this is his first premise, the second is that all the evils in the New England system are to be traced directly to the bad influence of the Puritan clergy, or—as Prof. Adams prefers to call them—“priesthood.” Nothing could be more unhistorical than this ascription of such preponderant influence to the opinion of a class. We now see that it is untrue even of the powerful clergy of the mediæval Church, who were regarded by themselves and their people as having the prerogative to shut or open heaven to men, and to command the presence of God on his altar by a word. The most powerful class are such only by reason of their representing the public opinion of the community. This was emphatically true of the Puritan ministry, which repudiated even the name of a clergy, which disclaimed any power to interpose themselves between man and God, which bound itself by all the obligations and requisitions which it exacted of other men, and which was recruited from the ranks of the people. That it was not by reason of the machinations of a clerical class upholding its own sacredness and the dignity in New England that these evils were done, lies on the very surface of the story. Some of the worst sufferers from the wrongs Prof. Adams denounces were themselves ministers. Among the very first victims of Puritan intolerance was Roger Williams; a second was John Wheelwright. A minister died on Salem gallows for witchcraft. The very first mark of priestly rule is wanting in the Massachusetts history: the members of the alleged priesthood do not stand by each other, and do not claim privileges for their own number which they deny to other men. The Puritan ministers laid down a hard law; but they executed it with impartiality. Minister was no more safe than layman under their rule. If they substituted the law for the gospel, they placed their own order under it with as much severity as any one else.

Yet Mr. Adams seems to think that the settlement of Massachusetts was effected by a conspiracy of a knot of English Puritan ministers, in order to bring their people under a more priestly rule than the law would allow at home! So little has he managed to enter into the spirit of the “great impulse that drove them across the sea.” The truth is that the distinction between clerical and lay opinion never was so slight as in Massachusetts in those days. It is ten times as strong in the Protestant churches of our own day as it was then and there. The Puritan minister was exactly what the public opinion of his people expected him to be. The notion that religion is especially a minister’s business was entirely absent. It was everybody’s business, and yet, in spite of the proverb, nothing was so much looked after. That it was not looked after in a right spirit we did not need Prof. Adams to show us. There was much in the temper of the men and of their time that was hard and un-Christian. Their very theology was stern and legalistic, needing sorely just that element which Quakerism came to supply. They had no just idea of the boundary line between Church and State,—but in that respect they were on the same bad footing as all but a few far-seeing men of that age. And they verily thought that they did God service in acts which we all see were as far from the spirit of their Master as were the deeds he rebuked in the Pharisees of his time.

All this it is easy to see from any adequate account of their polity. No one has told it with more vigor than has Prof. Adams. But this is not the whole story, and it is because it is not the whole that we must refuse to regard his book as a history. Massachusetts was not an outlying district of hell until the legal profession took its rise at the beginning of the eighteenth century to redeem it. The men to whom Massachusetts looked up as its best and worthiest—its rulers and its ministers—were not men of unrelieved harshness and intolerance, with only such lightness of shade in each generation as would set off the greater blackness of the next.

Prof. Adams shows some of the limitations of the legal intellect in his discussion of the position of Massachusetts in its relations to the home government. He is pretty solidly on the side of the later Stuarts in their quarrel with the colony and their attempt to deprive it of its charter, on the ground that the letter of the law forbade the exercise of the powers which the colony assumed. He passes lightly over Andros, but he is substantially with that infamous ruler, and thinks that the sympathy which has been given to those who resisted him has been wasted. It is queer enough to find a Massachusetts writer thus controverting what has been taught to the school-children of every State in the Union about the heroism of his forefathers at a critical time. But we think it is impossible for any one who is not a lawyer to go with Prof. Adams in

this. It is quite true that legal formulas were greatly stretched in Massachusetts in the establishment of self-government and the assumption of the amplest political powers. But even the Stuarts felt, as Prof. Adams does not, that those formulas were inadequate to the occasion, and that necessity knows no law. The Puritans may have misused self-government; but they had a natural right to its exercise in the circumstances, and they deserve our respect for standing up for the right.

We do not think that Prof. Adams shows his legal acumen in dealing with the evidence for the prosecution. Of course, if history be a matter of indictments and of pleadings, the lawyer may leave to the other side the business of sifting the cross-examining. But in this Commonwealth it is made the duty of the lawyer to make his indictment no stronger than his witnesses will support under the severest cross-examination. And this we do not think he has done. It is true that witnesses who have been dead two centuries cannot be put into the witness box, and made to tell their story under fire. But we still can look at the probabilities of the case. We can ask if they were calm enough to give us an objective account of the facts; if they tell us nothing beyond what it was possible or likely for them to know; whether or not they make statements of which there ought to be corroborative evidence, but is not; and whether they make their unfriends say what is not likely or possible for them to have said.

Does Prof. Adams believe that Deputy-Governor Bellingham said to the Quaker Christison: “Unless you will renounce your religion, you shall surely die,” for instance? Does he believe that when the Quaker asked what law they had for putting him to death Governor Endicott answered: “We have a law, and by our law you are to die,” thus adopting as his own the reply of the Jewish mob to Pilate? We take these two improbabilities from the very first page in which our author deals with evidence of this kind. And without in the least questioning that the Quakers were treated with cruelty and injustice by the rulers of Massachusetts, we think we find similar instances of improbable statement in other parts of the story. We should like some better proof that the warrant given on pages 155-6 was written by the minister and not by the magistrate; that John Norton interfered in behalf of the jailor who had aroused popular indignation by abusing the Quaker prisoners; and for similar statements in the evidence quoted from the Quaker book, “New England Judged.” When it is remembered with what detestation the primitive Friends regarded “hireling ministers,” and with what language the very chiefest of them addressed such men as Richard Baxter, John Howe, and John Bunyan, it is easy to believe that they were liable to misstatement in their account of the share of the Puritan ministers in the persecution. Nor have we a right to assume the truth of anything that is said to the discredit of the ministry on the assumption that it was their prerogatives which were especially imperilled. Quakerism was just as offensive to the magistracy as to the ministry, and the doctrine of the Inward Light, from the time of the Anabaptist fanatics, was thought to overthrow all civil magistracy.

We observe a few misprints in the documents which Prof. Adams quotes and which add to the value of his book. On page 81 “Christ’s words of justification” should be “Christ’s words of institution.” On 118 “foul-murderers” should “soul-murderers.”

R. E. T.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.¹

THE name “Columbia” should have been spread over a continent. Failing of that, it might appropriately have been adopted by the most characteristic and progressive nation of the New World. But the founders of our Republic, with their innate Anglo-Saxon carelessness about names, gave this *novus ordo sæclorum* a cumbrous plural appellation which trips us up at every turn. The maker of the first serious attempt at a national song, less powerful in this instance than the makers of the nation’s laws, was not able to redress the wrong. Columbia, evicted from its rightful estate, has been allowed in the lapse of time to creep back to corners. Its force has been weakened by being shared among three of the sub-divisions of the Continent and further attenuated by a variety of prefixes. In the name “British Columbia” the adjective usurps the emphasis, and the grand substantive is shorn of its original glory.

Has British Columbia a history? The name has had a place on the maps for scarcely three decades. On August 2d, 1858, the British Parliament decreed that this designation should be given to certain territories west of the Rocky Mountains. This point of origin stands just midway in Mr. Bancroft’s new volume of well nigh eight hundred pages. Before it he discriminates three eras

¹THE EMANCIPATION OF MASSACHUSETTS. By Brooks Adams. Pp. VI and 382, 12mo. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

¹The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. XXXII. History of British Columbia, 1792-1887. Octavo, pages XXXI, 792. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers. 1887.

—first, the era of discovery and disputed ownership, resembling an approach from sea to land through fogs and mists; second, the era of the entrance of the fur-traders, which may be compared to the actual landing on shores heretofore unknown; third, the colonization of Vancouver's Island, while the mainland was left to the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company. But gold—that potent agent in the rise and fall of men and nations—was discovered in the bed of the Fraser River in 1856, and New Caledonia, as the adjacent territory was then called, was invaded by Americans. The rapid influx of gold-seekers overthrew the previous order of things, loosely constructed and unfit to resist the sudden shock. The mainland also was raised to colonial existence in 1858 under the name now given to the whole province. On the hither side of this point of origin Mr. Bancroft marks again three eras; the first, a troublous time, ends with the union of the two colonies under one governor in 1866. The second ends with a desperate attempt at a still grander union, from which impossible blessings were hoped, the confederation of Canada in 1871. The sixth and last era runs on to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1885, and even to the date of Mr. Bancroft's book in the present year of grace.

For history in the strict sense of that much-abused word, there is here evidently but little scope. Sailors, hunters, fur-traders, soldiers, gold-seekers, colonists, governors and other officials move successively across the scene, but their various adventures and fortunes have little apparent effect on each other, or on the destiny of the place with which their names are casually connected. Still less have they influence on the great current of the world's history. Only towards the close of this collection of narratives, and especially in the chapter on the Canadian Pacific Railway, do we begin to note that these stragglers belong to the grand army of civilization marching to the conquest of the world. The full record of the annals of this corner, still remote and obscure to dwellers in the East, may prove of inestimable service to future generations and also not without interest to the present. None could be found to perform this work with greater enthusiasm, diligence and accuracy than Mr. Bancroft, aided by his trained assistants. Thoroughly American (would that we were allowed to say Columbian) in character and sentiment, he looks with no jealous eye on the fair prospects of British Columbia. He even overrates in some respects her comparative advantages. There is no more likelihood that Victoria, the capital, will overtake San Francisco in the race for commercial supremacy on the Pacific Coast, though the British Columbian city is hundreds of miles nearer the ports of Japan and China than her American rival, than there is that Halifax or St. John's will outstrip New York. In the copious bibliography at the end of the book there is an amusing variety of opinion as to the condition and resources of British Columbia in bygone years. But the actual development of the country, aided by lavish expenditure of the British and Canadian governments, has put to shame the gainsayers and far surpassed the extravagant expectations of sanguine prospectors.

J. P. L.

WEEKLY NOTES.

A COMMITTEE appointed at the last annual meeting of the Penn Club is exerting itself to interest members in the movement to secure by purchase a suitable property for a club-house. The estimate of the cost, \$25,000, is certainly modest, and the subscription itself was headed by a tender of \$1000 by a member present at the annual meeting. The present near future is likely to be a time of proving for the Penn Club; if it can secure a new and suitable location it will probably sustain successfully the competition of other clubs; and if not, not.

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THE first number of a new Oriental journal published in Vienna has just appeared. It will have the patronage of the Minister of Public Instruction and be edited by the Directors of the Oriental Institute of the University. Articles will be accepted in German, English, French, and Italian,—those relating to India to be published, as far as possible, in English. The first number contains articles by G. Bühler, David Heinrich Müller, and other scholars. It will appear quarterly. B. Westermann & Co. will act as agents for this country.

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THE vacant presidency of Haverford College has been filled by the election of Prof. Isaac Sharpless, who has for some years been the Dean of the Faculty and to a large degree the executive and business head of the institution. Prof. Sharpless is best known, no doubt, by his work in Astronomy and the text books which, in whole or in collaboration, he has produced relating to that subject; but he is more than a specialist, and we have confidence in the success of his more responsible labors for the future of Haverford.

AMHERST COLLEGE is making a grave mistake in proposing to ask its Alumni to establish and endow a Henry Ward Beecher professorship in that college. It is quite true that Mr. Beecher was the most illustrious graduate of a college which has produced its full share of eminent Americans. But it is also true that such an endowment in an educational institution is a permanent monument to the character of the man whose name is stamped on it. We are not of those who accept the estimate of Mr. Beecher's character that his enemies have put forward. But we cannot but accept his own statement of his wrong-doing in the saddest passage of his life as the least that is true. And, in view of that, we should shrink from holding Mr. Beecher up as a model man before a great body of young men. And nothing less than this is involved in this proposal. The character of an institution is shown by those it selects for its crowns and numbers among its jewels. The business of selecting men for monuments of any sort is a much more serious one than Americans seem to feel. It is not the great centres of our scholarship which should be remiss in the severity of selection. They can the least afford to make mistakes,—to be over-indulgent. The noble passage in *Æschines*, which Wendell Phillips quoted with reference to Webster's statue, in which the Athenians are warned that the rising generation would be corrupted by the bestowal of public honors upon men unworthy of their imitation, might be construed at Amherst with profit. It is not that Amherst is poor in men worthy of commemoration that she takes Mr. Beecher for such a use as this.

COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: A DISCUSSION.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

YOU have done me the honor to ask me, among others, to express an opinion on the subject of Commercial Union, which has at last been brought within the field of practical discussion.

I have long maintained, for my part, that continental Free Trade, with a full reciprocity of all commercial advantages and privileges, was the dictate of nature for the English speaking people of this continent, and the only satisfactory solution of the fisheries question and of all commercial questions between Canada and the United States.

A mere reciprocity treaty, such as we had before, is very difficult to negotiate on account of the antagonisms of interests and parties, and when concluded it has but a precarious existence, being liable to be overturned, with the industries built upon it, by any gust of international discord, such as that which was produced by the *Trent* affair. Nor does it relieve us of the expense, annoyance, and estranging influence of the customs line. What we want is to be rid of the customs line, so that capital, enterprise, and commercial life may circulate with perfect freedom through the whole continent. It is needless to dilate on the benefits of such a change. That Canada would be a great gainer few Canadians, I believe, doubt; and commercial men in this country, especially in the Western States, seem to think that the benefit would be mutual.

Of the fisheries question there appears to be no final and happy settlement but complete participation, such as existed before the American Revolution had divided the Western from the Eastern portion of the great Anglo-Saxon realm. The fishermen being rough men, and naturally jealous of anything like encroachment on their livelihood, will be apt to put harsh and irritating constructions on any treaty regulations that you can make, and the trouble will be constantly renewed.

The Provinces of Canada, in respect of their commercial interests, are connected not with each other but with the States adjoining each of them on the South; the Maritime Provinces with New England; Ontario and Quebec with New York and Pennsylvania; Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories with Minnesota and Dakota; British Columbia with the States on the Pacific Coast. The Maritime Provinces feel this keenly, and the discontent excited by their commercial severance from New England is laying a heavy strain on Canadian confederation.

Commercial union would of course involve assimilation of tariffs, which, however, since the raising of Canadian import duties has brought the tariffs more nearly to a level, would present no insurmountable obstacle to negotiation. It would also involve an assimilation of the liquor duties, to preclude fraudulent importation, but here again no serious difficulty would be encountered, nor need there be much disturbance of the fiscal system on either side.

An attempt is being made, as you are aware, in Canada to force commercial prosperity by means of a protective system. But whatever may be the results of protection in the case of the United States, which form a continent producing almost everything in itself, for Canada, with her uniformly cold climate and her limited range of protection, the system is unquestionably a

failure. Its necessary effects, as Canadians will soon become convinced, are misdirection of capital and industry, financial deficit, dearth of living, and consequent depopulation. In Manitoba and the Northwest especially, which are purely agricultural and require perfectly free importation of implements and of everything necessary for the farmer in a newly settled country, the pressure of the system has already been felt. Our Canadian manufacturers cannot hope long to keep things as they are, and they will probably be led to perceive that their best chance of protection against the competition which they have most reason to dread lies in placing themselves under the shelter of the American tariff. I speak as one who is neither a Protectionist nor a purist of Free Trade, but who recognizes in all fiscal matters the force of special circumstances and the necessity of dealing tenderly with established systems and the industrial interests which have been built upon them.

The unnatural character of the commercial division between the Dominion and the United States leads already to a great deal of smuggling. When the Canadian North-West fills up, it will hardly be possible to maintain a protective tariff to which the border population is opposed along an open frontier of eight hundred miles.

Opposition on the part of Great Britain to a commercial union of this continent is not to be apprehended. Sir John Macdonald by his "National Policy" has already taken Canada completely out of the commercial unity of the Empire and he has proclaimed fiscal Home Rule for Canada in the most emphatic terms. The British people are aware of this; and in spite of the curious fever-fit of Imperial Federation in which is passing over some of them, the mass of them have a growing conviction that they have no interest in interfering with affairs on this side of the Atlantic. Only speak them fair, instead of bullying or denouncing them, and you will find no difficulty on their side.

Canadian politicians, jealous for the integrity of their separate sphere, are apt to look askance at commercial union because they fear that it may bring political annexation in its train. But if the two sections of the English-speaking population of this continent ever unite it will be because in race, language, religion, and institutions they are one people, not because a customs-line which ran between them has been removed. Take away every custom-house on the Pyrenees, and there will be no tendency to a union of France with Spain. The Zollverein would have done little towards the unification of Germany without unifying agencies of a far more potent kind. Of any wish to aggress upon Canadian independence I have never, in all my intercourse with Americans, perceived the slightest indication. Canada, when the customs-line which strangles her commerce has been abolished, will be still the mistress of her own political destinies. No community which is really a nation can desire more.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE LONDON CONFERENCES OF AUTHORS.

LONDON, March, 1887.

THE greatest excitement of late in the literary world has been the coming together of authors to discuss their rights and grievances. Three times in as many weeks have they met for this purpose, thanks to the efforts of the Incorporated Society of Authors. Heretofore, but little has been heard of the society, though it was established in 1884, and though, since the beginning, it has had for object nothing less important than the consideration of the question of copyright between America and England and of the relations between authors and publishers. But "as yet," as its latest circular says, "its work has been more solid than ostentatious." This year, however, it apparently thought the time had come for ostentation as well as solidity, and it summoned authors—members and non-members—to its conferences which, if not heralded, were at least followed, metaphorically speaking, by blasts of trumpets from all the leading papers.

The programme of the society announced through its circular is as follows:

- "1. We shall do our best to define the principles which should in equity rule the agreements of authors with publishers.
- "2. We shall in the agreements stipulate for open accounts and inspection of books.
- "3. We shall draw up for our members, free of charge, agreements for any-kind of publishing that may be chosen.
- "4. We shall advise them as to the best houses for their manuscripts, as to the best form of publication, and on the promotion generally of their interests.
- "5. We shall, when our numbers increase sufficiently, but not till then, advise on manuscripts for our members."

These things the society thinks it can do. It is modest, however, and admits that there are limits to its power. It cannot, for example, make the reading public ask for bad books or the circu-

lating libraries buy books which are not asked for; it cannot force editors to accept an article unless they like it, or publishers to pay more for literary work than it is worth. In a word, the author who expects the society to help him must first have helped himself to an extent that justifies his expectation. Having made this announcement in print, the society sent out its invitations to all interested to come and listen to a little plain talk from those in authority on the questions to be considered.

At the first meeting Lord Lytton was in the chair, and Mr. Besant opened the conference on the Maintenance of Literary Property. He had accumulated a mass of evidence in proof of the ways that are dark of publishers and the consequent wrongs of authors. It is only fair to say that before giving his audience the benefit of his figures he began his papers by generously insisting that all publishers are not dishonest, but that unfortunately their business methods, so loose that they would not be countenanced in "The City," give every chance for dishonesty. After having shown how unsatisfactory are the English systems of half profits, royalty and publishing by commission, he contrasted with them the superior French system, which entitles the author to one third the profits from the very beginning, while the law forbids the printer to print any copies of a book unless he has a written order to that effect from the author. But, despite all these figures, before he had come to the end of his paper I found that Mr. Besant, after his manner, was dreaming dreams. The uninitiated present might have thought a sale of ten thousand copies of a book an every day occurrence and that Literature would be the sweetest, softest bed of roses were it not for thorns of publishers. For the future generation of authors he built a Palace of Delight far eclipsing that he has already set up for the people in the East End of London. Mr. Besant's imagination colors even his facts, greatly to the detriment of their practical value. The discussion that followed was much less imaginative. Sir Francis Adams had a few words to say about the International Copyright Convention which in the end would force the United States out of very shame to join it. Mr. Bryce, M. P., rejoiced in the establishment of an inter-colonial copyright law, without which there would have been the same difficulty between the colonies that now exists between England and the United States. Mr. Harry Quilter, who has worked hard to make a reputation as a "middle class art critic," proved with much elaboration that if what Mr. Besant said was true then the publishers were liars, but if what the publishers said was true then Mr. Besant was—well just a little mistaken! A cautious Scotch editor, who probably had had bitter experience of the libel law of Great Britain, regretted the presence of reporters, which prevented his speaking out his mind on the subject. Altogether the discussion promised to be very lively and the language very plain when Lord Lytton remembered another engagement and brought the meeting to a close, not however before he had been thanked for his services in the offensively fulsome British fashion. We were all reminded of his rank and title, his diplomatic career, his father's novels, and his own literary work until one might have thought authors had been assembled for no other purpose than to hear his praises sung.

At this meeting Mr. Besant began, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, a campaign which is still being fought with magnificent valor and no bloodshed. Publishers have written in the papers attacking Mr. Besant's figures. Mr. Besant has written substantiating them. Mr. Vizetelly, a publisher, in his wrath goes so far as to recommend young literary aspirants to give up literature and to take to mending old shoes like Count Tolstoi. It is very amusing to any one in the least behind the scenes to watch the battle and see how ready are those publishers whom the cap fits to wear it? The *Pall Mall* with its usual enterprise has interviewed Mr. Chatto, of the firm of Chatto & Windus, and the French publisher, M. Hachette. When the excitement will subside there is no knowing. Only to-day I read a letter in the same paper from Mr. Besant, in which he declares once more, most emphatically, that he is attacking, not publishers, but "the pernicious system of giving no vouchers for the charges of cost of production," owing to which "the door stands wide open to dishonesty;" and adding that a full report, rich with fact, will shortly be published by the Society.

At the second meeting Sir Frederick Pollock presided and Mr. Gosse delivered an address on the Profession of Author. He pointed out the many ways in which an organized society could protect authors, especially women, who were not capable of looking out for themselves. His subject necessarily brought him back to the burning question of the day,—the relation between authors and publishers. The society cannot make writers; it can only protect them when they have made themselves; and against whom or what can it protect them save the publishers? It cannot undertake to educate the public to the practical appreciation of all its members. However, Mr. Gosse hardly touched upon Mr. Besant's grounds. He was less concerned in pointing out the in-

iquity of publishers than eager to demonstrate the benevolence of the Society. That this had already taken an active form was seen in the fact that Longmans, Green & Co. had written a letter to declare their intention of henceforth giving vouchers for accounts. It is to be hoped the example of so influential a firm will be followed. Miss Mary Robinson suggested a conference of publishers, and brought forward, but without giving names, the case of a novelist who had made a contract to have her three first novels published by certain publishers who, though they declared they had never paid expenses with the first and second and had consequently never paid her a penny, now insisted on having her third, apparently for no other reason than that they might lose money on it! If there is any strength in the Society it should boldly take up such a case, publish the names abroad, and enforce justice. A bold move like this would do ten times more good than a dozen conferences. Mrs. Fenwick Miller objected to the Society unless it recognized the equality of men and women; there was no reason, she thought, why the latter called for particular protection. Mr. Brett, A. R. A., who, since he wrote his original catalogue, probably considers himself an authority, besought the Society to raise the scribbling business from the gutter where it is now wallowing, and was hissed for his pains.

I have left myself no space to speak of the third Conference, which was, however, unquestionably the least interesting. The subject to be discussed was Dramatic Rights and Property, and the most notable feature of the afternoon was the increasing courage of the speakers. Mr. Hollingshead, who exposed the absurdity of the present system by which an author cannot reserve the rights to dramatize his own stories except under certain preposterous conditions, fell foul of the law and the dramatic adapter, to the delight of his large audience. But there was no discussion worthy of the name. Mr. Toole, being called upon to speak, declared that Mr. Hollingshead had left nothing to be said, and consequently no one ventured upon what seemed to him a mere repetition, except Mr. Frank Marshall, who justly thought that the work of a man's brain deserved the same protection accorded to pheasants, partridges, and turnips. Now that the Society of Authors has proclaimed its mission, it remains to be seen how it will insure its accomplishment.

REVIEWS.

ROBA DI ROMA. By Wm. Wetmore Story. In two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MR. STORY'S chronicle of things done, seen, and felt in Rome is grounded upon an extensive historical knowledge of his subject, besides an ample personal experience of life in the Eternal City. He has the advantage, too, of bringing to his work the observation of an artist and the insight of a poet and a sentimentalist and his book possesses a permanent value from its descriptions of scenes and characteristics which have already begun to change, fade, and pass away. For Rome, though changeless and eternal, changes perpetually and every epoch writes its history upon its face in some way. Spontaneous development carries away many habits and customs, and the unceasing evolution of reaction and renaissance alters the face of all familiar things. When Mr. Story first began to write down his impressions, Rome was crumbling to pieces in a beautiful and melancholy way. We could stand in the Colosseum and muse over the scene which easily represented to the imaginative mind the actual arena when the fierce gladiatorial games went on, eighteen hundred years ago. These recollections were softened and sanctified by the cross of Christianity which was set up in the centre, in 1675, when Clement X. dedicated the magnificent ruins to the memory of the Christian Martyrs. Now all this is changed; the archæologists have taken possession of the grandest monument of Imperial Rome. They have removed altars and crosses, torn away all the lovely and riotous efflorescence from the walls; they have excavated the arena to exhibit the foundations, and show the cavernous cells and compartments beneath. This may be very interesting from an archæological point of view and, as Prof. Lanciani remarked the other day, it will help to preserve the walls to keep them free from vegetable growths; but all the same one laments the beauty and the picturesqueness of the Colosseum of thirty years ago. The Forum, the Palace of the Cæsars, and the House of Vestals are also being preserved by the Archæological Commission in the same way.

But although the charm of certain parts of Rome is a thing of the past, one has to reflect that these changes were inevitable; as Mr. Story says, the character of Rome is changed. It is no longer the peaceful and tranquil place where the pilgrim might wander and muse over the past, far from the busy traffic of the world and its worry and its interests. The contemplative and almost monastic charm of retirement which ever made it a city apart from all others is gone or going, and it is gradually drawing into line with all

other cities. Life is still in its crowded streets. It is awaking from its long dream.

Mr. Story has certainly done his best to preserve the charm which belonged to the old days and his book is besides full of practical observation on life in Rome in any epoch. There is much force in some of his reflections on the necessity of foreigners going to Rome living "as the Romans do," if they wish to avoid malaria and its kindred evils. "It is exceedingly difficult," he remarks, "to persuade English or Americans that they do not understand the climate better than the Italians, who are set down as timid ignoramuses. Yet the Italians understand their own climate and continue to thrive in it. Their habits are regular and abstemious; they require a small amount of food and no highly stimulating liquors; they avoid the sun ('only Englishmen and dogs walk in the sun,' they say), and also keep clear of a dense shade. They especially take heed not to expose themselves when warm to a sudden lowering of temperature. 'The bald-headed, rosy John Bull, steaming with heat, doffs his hat at going into some damp pit-like church or gallery and is of course astounded if the result proves just what it would be anywhere else, and if he take cold and get a fever, charges it to the climate and not to his own folly and recklessness.' 'Do not exhaust your nervous system,' Mr. Story goes on to say, 'by too continuous sight-seeing, nor by long walks nor violent exercise.' All which is good advice, and may well be laid to heart by tourists to whom a ten weeks Roman fever is an unpleasant experience to be avoided if possible at the cost of a little sound common sense.

There may be a trifle of redundancy in some of Mr. Story's descriptions of games, religious customs, and the like, and an excess of interesting matter if one may find such a fault with an agreeable book. But the reader may choose his subject from the table of contents and is certain to find the chapter he looks for, whether in the Campagna, Roman pastimes, the Colosseum, or Fountains and Aqueducts, full of information, point, and pith.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE BONDAGE AND THE EXODUS. Lectures by Charles S. Robinson, D. D., LL.D., Pastor of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. Pp. 199. 12mo. New York: The Century Company.

In these lectures to his congregation on the relation of the discoveries of the Egyptologists to the accounts of Egyptian matters in the Old Testament, Dr. Robinson aims especially at using the interest which has been awakened by the great find of royal and other mummies at Deir-el-Bahari on the Upper Nile in 1883. He had already begun to lecture on that subject when he found himself in Europe at the height of the excitement over the conveyance of the find to the Boulak Museum. The interest deepened when it was known that two of the four Pharaohs whose remains had been exhumed were of the era of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt: The four are Seti I., who began the oppression of the Hebrews, and whose daughter adopted Moses; Rameses II., or Sesostris, the great builder and the subduer of the Hittites (Khita); Rameses III., and the Thothmes who made the New York obelisk. These are not continuous, as after Rameses II. should come Menephtah (or Merenptah) who generally is thought to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus. As his corpse has not been found, the omission might have tempted an apologetical writer to allege this as proof that he was drowned in the Red Sea. But Dr. Robinson denies that he was drowned along with his army, or that the Bible says he was, unless it be in one of the Psalms written long after the event, and written with poetical license. He expects that Menephtah's mummy will yet be found.

In a field where he has had such predecessors as Hengstenberg, Rawlinson, and Ebers, Dr. Robinson may be expected to cast genuine light on many portions of the Old Testament for the class of readers who will prefer his lectures to the heavier and more systematic treatises in which such knowledge for the most part is to be sought. But we must confess our dislike for apologetical treatment of any portion of history, the historical books of the Bible not excepted. We dislike being interrupted by the edifying inferences from what he has to say, as confirming the Scripture record. We do not at all dissent from the *motive* of his book. But we think that his end would have been served far better by a study of the history of Egypt on Old Testament principles, in the light which both the Hebrew records and the monuments give us. And we find it a good deal worse than distracting when the wretchedness of the Egyptian fellah, the fruit of Christian iniquity and rapacity, is alleged as a fulfilment of the prophecies of Ezekiel and his brethren in the era of the Jewish captivity. We think such interpretations grow out of a thoroughly mistaken theory of what prophecy is, and that they are calculated to make Englishmen very easy under the burden of guilt their government has heaped upon them for purely selfish objects.

Apart from this general objection, we must say that Dr. Robinson has made good use of his materials, that his book is emi-

nently readable, and that even those who have no sympathy with its purpose will find it full of information. We think, however, that Dr. Robinson has made a needless difficulty for himself by ascribing a modern rather than the true Hebraic force to the phrase: "God hardened Pharaoh's heart." In Hebrew phraseology, the heart stands simply for the intellect. "Give me thine heart" means "Give me your attention." The hardening of the heart by God is not the making Pharaoh a worse man, but inflicting judicial blindness on him for his wickedness.

LOWER MERION LILIES, AND OTHER POEMS. By Margaret B. Harvey. Pp. 129. Philadelphia: Press of J. B. Lippincott Co. 1887.

This little collection deserves not to be thrown down as the immature effort of a new poet, but to be taken up and sympathetically read. The pieces, some thirty in number, are of unequal merit as to construction and arrangement, but they are all characterized by lyric fervor and poetic sincerity. There is a strong tone in them which marks the author as one who has not only thought of her theme, but has felt it also. There is a lack sometimes of those fine niceties of technique which with many of our moderns have been doing duty for all other presumed qualities of poetry, and throughout the book the design of the author seems to have been more to express the thought that was in her than to turn a neat line, or arrange a "dainty" verse.

Two themes are apparent in the pieces: the beauties of outdoor life, especially the flowers, and the symbolism of nature in mental and spiritual things. The principal piece, the lilies of Merion, is more than an arrangement of floral observations: it is, in fact, an appeal in favor of the unconscious growth of the beautiful in being as against the unthoughtful rush and vehemence of gross doing. "Consider the lilies of the field," One said, and those which neither toil nor spin but yet are arrayed beyond the splendors of Solomon offer their silent lesson to us in Miss Harvey's stanzas. She says:

"Forget all the tiresome abstraction
In current, Christian speech,
And learn to your own satisfaction
What lilies really teach."

And she asks:

"Shall lilies have full time for blooming,
Fill topaz breasts from sun,
And God's soul-flowers wither, man dooming
To love each suffering one?
All bodies are meet for adorning—
The Holy Spirit's shrines;
What hand should be toil-worn at morning,
And cold when noon-day shines?"

Throughout the collection there are many references to the flowers, the plants, and the trees. The myrtle and willow are used as emblems in a somewhat sombre piece, and the rose, the fern, the trumpet-creeper, the wild grape-vine, and many others, including the arbutus on the hills of Valley Forge, appear in the course of others. Here is a little song which has both delicacy of expression and a body of thought:

"Violet-eyes in the grass,
Souls of my true love's eyes,
Thoughts of her, as I pass,
Up from your purple rise.
"Petal-lips on the trees,
Shades of my true love's lips,
Smiles like hers, on the breeze,
Float from your crimson tips."

Miss Harvey is a very faithful and earnest literary worker: her conscience is in her book, and it will be enjoyed, we are sure, by many sympathetic souls.

AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

OUR readers are familiar with the delicate and imaginative verses of Mr. William Struthers, some of which have had a place, from time to time, in THE AMERICAN, while others have appeared in many of the journals which have a repute for literary taste. One of the most recent is a tribute to Henry Ward Beecher, published in the *Evening Journal*, of Chicago, a few days ago, a longer poem than usually comes from the pen of this author. It is refined and sympathetic. Mr. Struthers' mother is a kinswoman of the Beecher family, her mother and Mrs. Beecher Stowe being named after their common aunt, Mrs. Harriet Foote.

Mr. Struthers finds occupation, as well as gratification, in his verse. He suffers much from impaired health, though yet quite a young man, and many of his pieces are the companions and products of hours of suffering. His home is in one of our city suburbs.

A work on "The Law of Criminal Conspiracy" is in preparation by Hampton L. Carson, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar, and will be ready for the press soon. This is a most interesting and rich subject. Mr. Carson's plan is to make a strictly legal work, collecting and arranging the statutes, and the decisions.

"A novelty of the Spring book trade," the Philadelphia *Bulletin* says, "will be a volume of lyrical verses and *vers de société*, which David McKay, of this city, will shortly publish. It is the joint production of two young Philadelphians, whose initials, C. H. L. and S. D. S., Jr., will be recalled by readers of *Life*, *Puck*, and other humorous weeklies, and whose more ambitious work has been found acceptable by some of the leading magazines."

Prof. C. Richardson, of Dartmouth College, will, by request, receive and forward to Augusta, Ga., any funds which may be sent him, to aid in the erection of a monument to Paul H. Hayne, the poet.

John Godfrey Saxe, the American poet and humorist, died at Albany on the 31st ult. He was born in Highgate, Vt., in June 1816; was graduated at Middlebury College in 1839; was admitted to the bar in 1843; practiced in the Vermont courts for six or seven years; edited the Burlington *Sentinel* for another six years; dabbled in politics, running twice for the governorship on the Democratic ticket; and then drifted into magazine writing, book-making, and lecturing. By that time he had made a reputation as a writer of witty verse, and was in great request at college commencements, dinners, and in society. His first volume appeared in 1846. Of his collected poems over forty editions have been published. His life of late years had been a sad one. His sun went down in clouds and thick darkness. Within a few years he lost his mother, whom he idolized, his devoted wife, his three daughters, a favorite daughter-in-law, and a son who died of hemorrhage while trying to call him to his help. These successive blows shattered his nervous system, as they desolated his hearth and broke his heart.

Messrs. Hubbard Brothers announce a life of Henry Ward Beecher, by Joseph Howard, Jr., which is expected to be ready in May; and also a new book by Marietta Holley ("Josiah Allen's Wife"), entitled "Samantha at Saratoga."

Francesque Sarcey has again in a series of articles brought up the question of the importance of the French *patois*.—Rev. Dr. John Crombie Brown, Haddington, Scotland, author and compiler of various works on Forestry, offers to present copies of his books, to the extent of his ability, to public libraries in this country, on receiving a certificate from the State government with the application.—The Faculty of Letters of Lyons, France, proposes to issue a photographic reproduction of the ancient manuscript called the "Bible Vaudoise," one of the treasures of the Library of the Palais des Arts at Lyons. It is difficult reading on account of the abbreviations, and with the accompanying annotation this reproduction will be interesting in a variety of ways.

A new and complete edition of the writings of Galileo in twenty volumes is to be published at Florence, under the authorization of the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, who has nominated a committee of scholars to edit the work.—A new series of "Shakespeare Reprints" in London (Whittaker & Co.), consisting of parallel texts of the First Quarto and First Folio, edited by Prof. Wilhelm Victor, of the University of Marburg, is begun with "King Lear."—Inaugural lectures of instructors, discourses delivered and books written in celebration of festal occasions dissertations of graduates, and various other publications made under the auspices of the German Universities are henceforth to be recorded, by government order, in an annual list. The first of the number has just appeared, covering the year from August 15, 1885, to August 14, 1886.

Charles Scribner's Sons will be the American publishers of Prof. Max Müller's work on the Science of Thought.—Swan Sonnenschein (London) will shortly publish a work entitled "A Misunderstood Miracle," by Rev. A. Smythe Palmer. It treats of Joshua's command to the sun to stand still.

Canon Robinson has written a book on "Moses: His Life and Times."—Dr. Cheyne's book on "Job and Solomon; or, the Wisdom of the Old Testament," will be published by Thomas Whitaker, New York.

Messrs. Ford, Howard & Hulbert announce new editions of several of Henry Ward Beecher's books: "Norwood" (his only novel), "Yale Lectures on Preaching" (the three series in one volume); "Life Thoughts," compiled by Edna Dean Proctor, and "Comforting Thoughts," compiled by Irene H. Ovington. In addition to the "Summer in England, in 1886," to be ready very shortly, they also announce a volume to contain Mr. Beecher's "War Speeches, in England and America (1863)," with other material of interest touching his labors and influence during that

great crisis of American history, and its immediate political results.

Messrs. Nicolay and Hay have been engaged for many years in making a complete collection of the writings of Abraham Lincoln. These will fill some three to five octavo volumes, including his speeches, addresses, state papers, his public letters, his private correspondence, a great part of which is up to this time unpublished, his official opinions and memoranda upon some of the most important events of the war, and some very curious and interesting miscellaneous pieces. In connection with his correspondence will be printed many hitherto unpublished letters from prominent persons which are necessary to a full understanding of Mr. Lincoln's own letters. The works will be published by The Century Co., and will be sold independently of the Life of Lincoln by Nicolay and Hay.

Messrs. Estes & Lauriat announce for early publication Miss Parloa's "Kitchen Companion," a revised edition (the 3d) of the "Key to North American Birds," by Elliott Coues, A. M.; a fine reprint of "The White Hills," by T. Starr King; "The Early Tudors," by Justin McCarthy; and "Social Customs" by Florence Howe Hall. This firm also makes the important announcement of a new uniform edition of the works of George Eliot. This will be published at the rate of one volume per month, and will be the first complete edition ever issued in America at a popular price. It will be printed from new plates, on fine ivory finish paper, illustrated by such artists as Frederick Dielman, F. S. Church, Will. H. Low, J. Wells Champney, and many others, in new and original etchings, photo-etchings, and wood-cuts. The edition will be in 12 vols., crown 8vo, cloth, gilt tops, \$21.00. "Adam Bede" will be the first volume issued. It will be uniform with the publishers, Sterling Edition of Carlyle.

Colonel John Hay says it will take about a year more to finish the "Life of Lincoln," upon which he and Mr. Nicolay have been engaged for the last fifteen years.—Rev. Alfred Ainger has completed his edition of the letters of Charles Lamb. Macmillan & Co. will publish them in two volumes.—H. Morse Stephens's "History of the French Revolution" is well advanced. The second volume is in the press and the third is ready to be brought out.

The London *Athenæum* says: "The Society of Authors have certainly succeeded in making themselves talked about, and, at any rate, interested the public in the case. One charge, however, has been made by them which is hardly fair to their hereditary foes. We believe no publisher of standing refuses to show his books to an author who has a joint interest in any work he has published. Of course, it would be rash to make a general statement when the contrary has been confidently asserted; there may be firms of high reputation who decline to permit an inspection of their accounts; but we can positively say that Mr. Murray, Messrs. Macmillan, and some others who might be named have never made any difficulty in opening their books."

Prince Krapotkine has in press a new work on French and Russian prisons. It will contain a plan of the celebrated Russian fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.—O. T. Dullea's monograph on Claude Lorrain, the French landscape painter, has just been finished and will appear in Sampson Low & Co.'s "Great Artists" series.—The Longmans, of London, by pledging themselves to render hereafter vouchers of their book accounts, have set an example which will increase their popularity with authors.

The Emperor of Russia is about to join the ranks of royal and imperial authors. He has revised his diaries for the past ten or fifteen years, and has intrusted M. Zichy, the Hungarian painter, with the task of illustrating them. The work will be published at St. Petersburg in the autumn. The reigning sovereigns who already possess more or less claim to literary distinction are: Queen Victoria, King Oscar of Sweden, King Louis of Portugal, the Emperor Peter of Brazil, the Shah of Persia, Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, and Prince Charles of Monaco.

Baron Hübner is preparing his Memoirs, which should prove very interesting. He is the only surviving Plenipotentiary of the Congress of Paris.—Captain Bassett, who has been in the employ of the U. S. Senate for 50 years, is writing his reminiscences.—Comte de Fraqueville has sent to the printer the first two volumes of his book on England. The first is on Government and the second on the constitution of Parliament. The third volume on Parliamentary Procedure is nearly ready.

The literary zeal which now marks Constantinople has shown itself in a peculiar form. By order of the Sultan, a mission of the most eminent Mussulman military doctors has been sent to the Hejaz, Yemen, Irak, and Tripoli of Barbary. Its purpose is to acquire old MSS., and to study the modes of treatment still existing.

It is expected that the Beecher Memorial will take the form

of a Library.—Miss Emma Lazarus, the poet, is in Paris dangerously ill. Three of her sisters are with her.—Mr. Swinburne has decided to publish a volume of selections from his poetical works, called "The Modern Avernus," through Messrs. Chatto & Windus.—A collection of Paul Heyse's stories, selected by Mr. John Phillips, is to be brought out in London by Elliot Stock.

Mr. John Russell Young, having recovered his health has concluded arrangements for his history of the Civil Life of General Grant. It is understood the Grant family is very anxious to have Mr. Young accomplish this task.—James R. Gilmore ("Edmund Kirke") has again entered the lecture field, in which some years ago he was a prominent figure.—The bill incorporating the Tilden Trust has at last been signed by the Governor of New York and become a law. It holds forth to the city of New York the promise of a library which shall ultimately rank with the greatest in the world.

It is stated on the authority of Mr. Griswold (Q. P. Index) that the real name of the novelist Theodore Gift is Dora Henrietta Boulger.—W. H. Herndon, the law partner of President Lincoln, has in preparation another "Life," which he will publish in the near future.—Miss Charlotte Fisk Bates has been successful in Boston in giving a course of lectures upon the old English writers.

Mr. Edmund Downey's "House of Tears" has been translated into Russian, and *The Athenæum* wonders if a book by an English publisher has attained this distinction before.—Mr. Carl Schurz is employing the enforced leisure, caused by nursing his broken leg, by revising in bed, in his New York lodgings, the proofs of his forthcoming "Life of Henry Clay."

Assistant Secretary Fairchild of the Treasury, in answer to a query from Robert Beall, of Washington, gave the following ruling. As is familiar, books printed more than twenty years ago can be imported free of duty. In the particular case in question, Mr. Beall wants to import 150 volumes of serial publications, two-thirds of which were printed over twenty years. His query was whether the entire work would be considered as one book, but Mr. Fairchild ruled that every volume is regarded separately.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

MR. BLACKMORE'S novel "Springhaven" is finished in the April *Harper's*, and will be popular, no doubt, with many of his admirers. In contrast with his earlier work, and especially the altogether charming "Lorna Doone," this later book shows a sad declension. His early style is vivid and simple; but "Springhaven" is loaded with mannerisms of the Charles Reade sort, and has excursions upon side issues, egotistic redundancies, and other needless matter that swell the volume most distressingly. Especially tiresome are his iterated and reiterated passages lamenting the tendencies of modern times in England, and signifying that a fine old Toryism of the sort that insisted on bullying all mankind and thrashing soundly any who complained is imperatively needed at this moment in the British Islands. Even if any one else thought the same, the perpetual introduction of the theme into the novel would be, as it is, impertinent and grotesque.

The office of *The Cosmopolitan Magazine* has been removed from Rochester, N. Y., to New York City. An edition of the magazine for English sales is planned.

A new periodical called *The Primrose Magazine* will make its appearance in London on April 19th.

According to the year book of French periodicals for 1886, all France, together with Algiers and the colonies, publishes 4,359 periodicals of various kinds. Of these 1,540 appear in Paris. Of the Paris publications 65 are specially devoted to the interests of the Catholic Church, 18 to the Protestant, and 2 to the Jewish.

Prof. A. S. Packard, founder of *The American Naturalist*, has retired from the management of that journal in favor of Dr. J. S. Kingsley. Prof. J. H. Comstock, of Cornell, will have charge of the Department of Entomology.

ART NOTES.

THE March issue of *The Art Age*, (New York: Gilliss Brothers and Turnure), gives as usual three illustration supplements, two of them being architectural, and one a reproduction by the Forbes photogravure process, of a painting, "Evening Calm," by F. K. M. Rehn. The plan of this monthly, as the publishers say in their announcement, is different from other art journals. "It conserves the professional interests without being a trade or a class journal," and "it gives as much practical information as it can without becoming strictly technical."

Concerning the painting of scenery for Mr. Daly's "Taming of the Shrew," the *Art Age* has some criticisms to offer, the gen-

eral purport of which may be inferred from its added paragraphs of advice: "The day for the hasty daubing of canvases with the ill-considered and uncouth forms of a debased architecture, instead of the refined ornament and delicate coloring of the Italian Renaissance, is long passed, and to none but the cultivated artist should such work as the representation of the rooms in an Italian palace be entrusted. . . . The palette of the scenic artist sadly needs resetting; he must wipe off his muddy grays, his cold and purple blues, his rank and nasty yellows, his raw and aggravating reds and horrid arsenic greens, and replace them with warm, clear grays, rich cyan blues, soft ochres and all the sunshine yellows, rich and glowing reds, broken tones of tender greens, and deeper, richer hues of nature's wood and field, if he would have harmony and feeling in his work."

The trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, at their meeting on Wednesday, decided to send to the American Exhibition in London the portrait of Rev. Dr. S. B. Wylie, by John Neagle, one of the best portraits in the University collection. Dr. Wylie was vice provost about a half century ago, (he died in 1852), and it will doubtless add to the pleasurable emotions of London visitors to learn that he was "out in the '98," in Ireland, and had a narrow escape from Belfast, on his way to America.

The *Art Amateur* offered \$100 premium for a design for a new cover for the magazine. 134 designs were received, but none were found worthy of the award. Ten of them received "honorable mention."

The sale of Mr. Geo. C. Lambdin's pictures began on Wednesday evening, in connection with a private collection belonging to another party. Eighty-five numbers were sold for a total of \$3,343. Three or four of the rose pictures in oil were sold, bringing such prices as \$30, \$47.50, and \$75, which were all exceedingly cheap.

SCIENCE NOTES.

LIEUTENANT ZALINSKI made some further experiments with his pneumatic dynamite gun on the 26th inst., before several invited visitors, at Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor. The tests were considered very satisfactory, and the success of the gun can hardly now be considered matter of doubt. Four charges were fired at different elevations, the range of the projectile at the greatest elevation reaching two and a half miles. The dynamite cartridges could be plainly seen as they flew through the air. They were fitted with a wooden tail to keep them point first during their flight, and in one of them this appendage broke off, and the cartridge turned over and over in the air. The fourth cartridge fell in the water without exploding. The charge of dynamite used in these cartridges was fifty pounds, but in the guns with which the Government's new dynamite cruiser is to be fitted the charge will be four hundred pounds.

A recent bulletin of the U. S. Fish Commissions states that the total distribution of shad fry for the season of 1886 amounted to 90,000,000. As the entire number of shad taken for the market is less than 6,000,000, it will be seen that, for every shad taken from the waters this season, there have been artificially hatched and returned to the waters fifteen young shad. Assuming that the entire cost of production and distribution has been \$20,000, the young fish have been produced and distributed over the entire United States at a rate of about \$215 a million, or about 46 fry for one cent. Another interesting fact to note is that, for the entire time up to and including 1882, there were produced 200,000,000 young shad; while, for 1883 alone, the total was over 90,000,000. This seems to indicate that we are approaching a position where the work may be regarded as profitable from a commercial standpoint.

A human skull which was found by the remains of the mastodon recently unearthed at Shrewsbury, Mass., furnished considerable occupation to some scientists before it was discovered to have been "planted" by some practical joker, with intent to deceive. Prof. Putnam, of Harvard, and his assistants pronounced it probably an Indian skull, and spent a great deal of time in endeavoring to decide as to its antiquity. The inquiry finally resulted in convincing them that, however remarkable and puzzling the skull may be, it was not contemporary with the mastodon, and it had not lain where it was for any long period of time. Aside from the clearing up of the mystery from a scientific standpoint, the public has an interest in the discovery of the party who "planted" the skull where it was sure to be discovered by the explorers. It is clear that whoever did it had some scientific knowledge, and took several precautions against the immediate discovery of the imposition.

Among the attractions proposed for the Paris exhibition of 1889, is a captive balloon, which if constructed as proposed will be one of the wonders of the world. It will have a capacity of some

1,800,000 cubic feet, and will carry one hundred passengers. The maximum altitude for the ascensions will be 1,000 metres, a winding engine of 600 horse power being employed to pull it down again. In the construction of this balloon the following point is of some interest. The surface of the balloon must always be tight, in order to prevent the damage which otherwise a strong wind might cause. To preserve tightness, notwithstanding variations in temperature, another small balloon is placed inside the large one, and the volume of this small balloon, which is filled with atmospheric air, can be increased or diminished by pumping in or exhausting air by means of an air pump, worked by an electric motor on the car, the current being supplied by a twin cable from a dynamo on the ground.

Herr Schiller, a well known German architect, reports some facts which are of interest, as indicating the radius of the circle of protection of good lightning rods. On June 17 last, at the village of Mottingen, lightning struck a pear tree 33 feet high. On one side, 115 feet away, was a schoolhouse, with a rod 66 feet high. On the other side was a church, 328 feet away, and having a lightning rod reaching up 154 feet. Both rods are well placed, and had worked well when tested, and the level of the foot of the tree is about the same as that of the two buildings. It is evident, then, if the facts have been accurately reported, that the radius of the circle of protection is not more than twice the height of the rod.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- THE OLD HOUSE AT SANDWICH. A Novel. By Joseph Hatton. Pp. 259. \$0.50. Paper. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- THE FACTORS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION. By Herbert Spencer. Pp. 76. \$—. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- A CLUB OF ONE: Passage from the Note-Book of a Man who Might Have Been Sociable. With Marginal Summary by the Editor. Pp. 249. \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- WORTH WINNING. A Novel. By Mrs. H. Lovett Camenson. Pp. 319. \$0.50. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
- WEE WIFIE. A Novel. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. Pp. 421. \$0.50. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
- THE BRIDE OF THE NILE. A Romance. By Georg Ebers. From the German, by Clara Bell. Two Volumes. Pp. 386-378. \$1.75. New York: W. S. Gottsberger.
- HIS STAR IN THE EAST. A Study in the Early Aryan Religions. By Leighton Parks, Rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston. Pp. 292. \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- THE FEUD OF OAKFIELD CREEK. A Novel of California Life. By Josiah Royce. Pp. 483. \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- DAFFODILS. [Poems.] A. D. T. W. [Mrs. Whitney.] Pp. 132. \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- FROM THE FORECASTLE TO THE CABIN. By Captain S. Samuels. Illustrated. Pp. 308. \$1.50. New York: Harper & Bros.
- WASTE-LAND WANDERINGS. By Charles C. Abbott, M. D. Pp. xii., 312. \$1.50. New York: Harper & Bros.
- HAIFA; OR, LIFE IN MODERN PALESTINE. By Laurence Oliphant. Edited, with Introduction, by Charles A. Dana. Pp. vii., 370. \$1.75. New York: Harper & Bros.
- THE STARTLING EXPLOITS OF DR. J. B. QUIES. From the French of Paul Célière. By Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie. Pp. xii., 328. \$1.75. New York: Harper & Bros.
- OUTLINES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. With an Account of its Origin and Sources and of its Historical Development. By George B. Davis, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy. Pp. xviv., 470. \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros.
- A DAY IN ANCIENT ROME. [Revision of Lohr's "Aus dem Alten Rom."] By Edgar S. Shumway, Professor in Rutgers College. Pp. 96. \$0.80. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
- ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON DETERMINANTS. By Wm. G. Peck, Professor in Columbia College. Pp. 47. \$0.75. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.
- HARCOURT; OR, A SOUL ILLUMINED. By Annie Somers Gilchrist. Pp. 490. \$1.25. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
- BALTIMORE, AND THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1861. A Study of the War. By George William Brown [Mayor of Baltimore, 1861.] Extra Volume III., Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science. Pp. 176. \$1.00. Baltimore: N. Murray.

THE CIVIL SERVICE: EXTRACTS FROM MR. CURTIS'S REPORT.

ON the 30th of June, 1886, the whole number of post offices was 53,614, of which 2265 were filled by appointment of the President. Besides this number of postmasters, there are about 23,000 persons employed in the postal service, of which 6000 are included in the classified service. Within the one year and four months of the term of the administration ending on the 30th of June, it would appear that the new appointments in the post offices had been probably a little more than fifty per cent. At that date the post offices, which compose the largest and most important branch of the public service, were about equally divided between old and new incumbents. Many of these changes have merely substituted offensive partisans of one party for offensive partisans of another. The records of the executive ses-

sions of the Senate which have been published show many instances of the appointment of political partisans who still continue in office and who are equally offensive with those who were removed for such partisanship. A conspicuous instance of this situation is that of the postmaster in Indianapolis. In July, 1885, upon the statement then made, the Civil Service Commission submitted a report which seems to us unsatisfactory, upon the essential point involved. But a careful and thorough investigation of the conduct of that office down to a recent date has been made by Mr. Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis, a friend of reform and of the administration, and with due allowance for ex parte affidavits and for personal statements, it establishes conclusively the most offensive partisanship in the management of the office, a partisanship which unless disproved demands the removal of the postmaster as imperatively as that of any officer who has been removed for that reason.

In the State of Indiana the Post Office at Indianapolis is the only one included in the classified service. Of second-class post offices, which are also presidential, there are 16, and in 15 the former incumbents have been removed and the employes have been almost entirely changed. There are 76 third-class offices, also presidential, and in 68 the late postmasters have been removed. There is no State, indeed, in which the post office had been made a party machine more generally than in Indiana, and many changes were probably justified for that reason. Yet it appears that change has been less reform than the substitution of one partisan for another, and in the case of the employes there has been a practical proscription for political opinion. In Indiana there are about 1800 fourth-class offices which are filled at the pleasure of the Postmaster-General. About 1200 of these have been changed, and of the 600 remaining the employments are so small that the offices are not desirable. According to our information, these changes, however justifiable many of them may have been in themselves for reasons of offensive partisanship, have been made largely at the instance of members of Congress, whose motive in selecting incumbents has been proved by the partisan activity of the officers selected. These facts and details, which have been carefully and conscientiously collected by Mr. Swift, have been recently laid before the President, and already in December, 1885, Mr. Foulke, of Indiana, the president of the Civil Service Reform Association of that State, had communicated to the President much information of the same kind.

Such facts seem to us to show a clear violation of the moral engagement made with the country by the Postmaster-General. We know, indeed, that in a State where public opinion is indifferent to the subject and where, therefore, it is not easy to find persons suitable for appointment who would heartily observe the principles of reform, many and gross departures from these principles might be expected. But the fact that the old "spoils" view is so general and so strong in the State would naturally lead an officer solicitous for reform to peculiar distrust of the representations of members of Congress, and to seek other and more disinterested means of information. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. Indeed, the circular of the Postmaster-General practically committed the whole subject of removals and appointments in his branch of the service to the most zealous and interested partisans. Such partisans were invited to prepare charges against incumbents, and were told that their affirmation of personal knowledge would be sufficient. But the circular was secret, and there was no intimation to the incumbents that they should know the charges and be heard in explanation. This was a course from which the correction of offensive partisanship in small post offices could not be anticipated. As a means of preventing the promotion of personal and partisan ends it was of course futile.

Yet this is the only method of making appointments beyond the classified service which has been adopted by the administration in the largest and most important and universally diffused branch of the public service. That upon a justifiable removal a political friend of the administration should be preferred in most cases for appointment to an equally competent applicant of other political sympathies is, perhaps, in view of the long and rigorous exclusion of members of the administration party from power, to be expected. But the substitution of one offensive partisan for another is not reform; it is the abuse which is to be reformed. We are not unmindful of the situation nor of its great perplexities. The difficulty of the Postmaster-General is undoubtedly great. The postal service must be continuous. Its legend is that of the church, *Omnibus, semper, ubique*. If a postmaster in the remotest corner of Texas dies or resigns, his place must be filled without delay, and the only immediate available source of information personally known to the Postmaster-General is the representative in Congress from the district in which the post office is situated. It is easy to see how the practice of relying on the representative originated. But it is equally easy to see the abuses and evils which such a practice must produce, and the official recognition of the practice by a member of the Cabinet is greatly to be regretted.

In the other great branches of the public service, there has been no specific announcement of principles and methods to be observed in making appointments and removals. But it may be assumed that they have not been essentially different from those of the Post Office. Thus in the three internal revenue districts in Indiana there were ninety-five employes, of whom all but three have been replaced by successors of the other party. In the United States Marshal's office, the Custom House at Indianapolis, and the District-Attorney's office, very few persons are employed, but the partisan change varies from 88 to 100 per cent. In the Pension Office alone, the percentage of incumbents retained falls below 50, but in that office an additional force wholly selected from one party has been appointed, amounting to 88 per cent. of the whole number formerly employed. The character of these changes in Indiana, so far as concerns reform, must be inferred from that of similar changes in the State which have been thoroughly investigated. The offensive partisan activity of the new incumbents is established by evidence quite as conclusive as that which led to the removal of their predecessors. There can be no doubt of flagrant disregard in Indiana of the spirit and methods of civil service reform. There has been substantially a clean sweep, and we have not found that an officer newly appointed in that State, who proves to be an offensive partisan, has been for that reason removed.

In the Department of State, while, as we have seen, the removals in

Washington have been 10 per cent. in the classified service, the changes in the Foreign Service have been apparently about 25 per cent., a statement which shows sincere regard for sound principles of the public service. In the Department of Justice, up to June 30, 1886, the changes in the unclassified service within the Presidential appointment were 119 of 180, or 65 per cent.; the removals were 60, the resignations 26, and the number of officers who were not reappointed was 33. The changes in the offices filled by the Attorney-General were 46 out of 137, or about 33 per cent.; the removals were 16 and the resignations were 30. But the number of resignations by request, which are equivalent to removals, is not stated. In the Interior Department there are 377 Presidential offices, of which 327 have a fixed term of four years. The total number of changes up to Oct. 1, 1886, was 268, or 71 per cent. The removals were 88, or 23 per cent., of the total number of offices; the deaths were two, or one-half of 1 per cent. The number of incumbents of offices having a term of four years who were not reappointed at the end of their terms was 65, or 20 per cent. The latter class include Indian agents, of whom only 3, or nine-tenths of 1 per cent., were reappointed upon the expiration of their commissions.

The Treasury Department has thus far neglected to reply to the request of the *Record* to furnish the details of the changes in the unclassified service. It can hardly be assumed that this proportion of change was required by the interests of the public service, and it does not appear that the changes have been made upon any general principle or for any reason that might not effect a complete partisan change before the close of the administration. This seems to us apparent from the facts in regard to the changes in the Indian Bureau.

The just solution to the Indian problem depends upon a wise and comprehensive management of Indian affairs. Such management is as important as legislation regulating Indian citizenship and individual tenure of land. Careful and intelligent training in all civilizing methods and practices is now indispensable, and this can be expected only from an administration of Indian affairs resting upon business principles and consequently insuring consistent action and stability of purpose. The happy issue of the Indian question lies, therefore, in the total separation of the Indian Bureau from mere partisan control. But our information leads us to believe that the Indian Service is now largely regulated by a narrow partisan spirit. A statement by the Indian Office, published in the *New York Evening Post* of the 15th of November, 1886, asserts that every care has been taken to purge the service of incompetents, but that no changes should be made on political grounds, and that no competent, industrious or faithful employé should be dismissed for the reason that he or she is not a Democrat or a Republican. But during the investigation of the tradership scandal by a committee of the Senate, Mr. Atkins, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in reply to a question whether a trader should be removed for political reasons, said: "I do not think a man once in an Indian tradership ought to be there always." Upon being pressed, Mr. Atkins said he thought it would be as fair and proper for a man to give up a position in the Indian Service which he had occupied for some time as to relinquish "any ordinary office." The significance of this answer is unmistakable, and the principle which the Commissioner lays down in regard to the Indian traderships he has enforced in the management of places in the Indian Service. Of this fact we have abundant testimony. Up to Nov. 16, 1886, of 61 Indian agents appointed by the last administration only 11 remain, and, in the judgment of the most intelligent and the most experienced and disinterested friends of the Indians, the change was effected in great part by political partisanship to make places for political or personal friends of party leaders. At many of the agencies, not only the agents, but nearly all the employes, have been changed for similar reasons. From the information before us—not, of course, official, but supplied by the most intelligent and devoted friends of the Indians, who have no personal or political purpose to serve—the conclusion is irresistible that the Indian Bureau has been managed in the interest of a party, and not primarily in the interest of the public service, and, consequently, that the administration of Indian affairs has been thrown into an unhappy and confused condition. From this condition it can be rescued only by the reasonable extension of the reform rules to the Indian Service, and by the exercise of the appointing and removing power in accordance with the principles of the law.

It will be observed from this review that while the removals in the classified departmental service, which includes 5650 persons, amounted to 6½ per cent. in the first fifteen months of the administration, the percentage in the rest of the service, which includes about 100,000 places not affected by the rules, was very much larger. The first class, however, cannot be fairly assumed to show the proportion of all removals that ought to have been made for valid reasons, because it is confined mainly to clerkships in Washington, while the second class embraces the various branches of the civil service throughout the country, including the Post Offices in which the public interest undoubtedly demanded many changes. But, conceding the propriety of such removals, the percentage of changes in the unclassified service seems to be too large to justify the conclusion that they were generally made with sole regard to the public interests, and such facts as those shown by Mr. Swift in Indiana and by the most competent inquirers into the management of the Indian Bureau may be accepted as illustrations of the reasons other than those connected with efficient non-partisan service which have produced so significantly large a percentage of removals.

DRIFT.

A NEWSPAPER of Westmoreland county, Pa., the *Mount Pleasant Journal*, says: "It is lucky for Victor Moyament, of this place, that he is a citizen of the United States, for were he not the German Government would most likely demand his extradition for assisting German subjects to escape military duty by having them come to this country. Last fall Victor's nephew, a young Frenchman of Lorraine, escaped and came to Mt. Pleasant where he now is. For this the German government fined the boy's father 3,000 marks, and now a younger brother of the refugee has played the same game and, with his sister, arrived in Greensburg, Tuesday, at noon. Their uncle went over to meet them with a carriage. Victor evidently intends to have all his relations come to this glorious land of the free."

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INSURES LIVES, GRANTS ANNUITIES, RECEIVES MONEY ON DEPOSIT returnable on demand, for which interest is allowed, and is empowered by law to act as EXECUTOR, ADMINISTRATOR, TRUSTEE, GUARDIAN, ASSIGNEE, COMMITTEE, RECEIVER, AGENT, &c., for the faithful performance of which its capital and surplus fund furnish ample security.

ALL TRUST FUNDS AND INVESTMENTS ARE KEPT SEPARATE AND APART from the assets of the Company.

The incomes of parties residing abroad carefully collected and duly remitted.

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T. WISTAR BROWN, Vice-President.

ASA S. WING, Vice-President and Actuary.

JOSEPH ASHBROOK, Manager of Insurance Dep't.

J. ROBERTS FOULKE, Trust Officer

DIRECTORS:

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T. Wistar Brown,
Richard Cadbury,
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J. M. Albertson,

Israel Morris,
Chas. Hartshorne,
Wm. Gummere,
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INDEX AND TITLE-PAGE OF
THE AMERICAN,

For Volumes XI. and XII.—October, 1885,
to October, 1886.

* * Copies of these Title-pages and Indexes remain on hand, and can be had upon notice to the Publisher of THE AMERICAN.

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The American Fire
INSURANCE COMPANY.

Office in Company's Building,

308 & 310 Walnut St., Phila.

CASH CAPITAL, . . . \$500,000 00

Reserve for reinsurance and

all other claims, . . . 1,070,003 99

Surplus over all liabilities, . . 528,957 89

TOTAL ASSETS, JANUARY 1st, 1886,

\$2,220,371.13.

DIRECTORS:

T. H. MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM W. PAUL,
JOHN WELSH, P. S. HUTCHINSON,
JOHN T. LEWIS, ALEXANDER BIDDLE,
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OUR CUSTOM WORK

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INSURES LIVES, GRANTS ANNUITIES, ACTS
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**NEW ENGLAND MUTUAL LIFE INSUR-
ANCE COMPANY,**

BOSTON,

SURPLUS - - - - - \$2,395,450.73

No speculative features. Annual returns of surplus. Yearly progressive cash values fixed by Massachusetts law, indorsed on every policy. Equal to an interest-bearing bond, with insurance at nominal cost. An excellent collateral. No forfeiture. Attention is also called to the NEW FEATURE IN LIFE INSURANCE adopted by this company, of issuing Endowment Policies for precisely the same premium heretofore charged for whole Life Policies.

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Allows Interest on Cash Deposits, Subject to Check; or on Certificates.

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